

Message Text

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SUBJECT: SPEECH BY FOREIGN MINISTER RAJARATNAM AT PRESS
CLUB LUNCHEON AUGUST 3, 1978

1. FOLLOWING IS SPEECH BY MR. S. RAJARATNAM, MINISTER OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE, AT THE NATIONAL
PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON HELD AT WASHINGTON ON 3 AUGUST 1978.
BEGIN TEXT.

THERE WAS A TIME IN THE UNITED STATES WHEN AN EXPERT ON
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SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND, IN PARTICULAR, ON VIETNAM WAS TREATED
WITH THE AWE AND REVERENCE THAT THE ANCIENT ROMANS ACCORDED
THEIR RESIDENT SOOTHSAYERS. THE INTEREST IN SOUTH-EAST
ASIA WAS NOT ONLY OBSESSIONAL BUT IT ALSO PERMEATED EVERY
ASPECT OF AMERICAN POLITICS AND LIFE.

TODAY THESE LEARNED SOOTHSAYERS, SO I GATHER, LEAD MEAN AND
PRECARIOUS LIVES BECAUSE THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS
HAVE, WITH THE ENDING OF THE VIETNAM WAR, LOST INTEREST IN
THE SUBJECT. THE YOUNGER AND MORE ENTERPRISING OF THESE

UNFORTUNATE SOUTH-EAST ASIAN EXPERTS ARE TODAY PROBABLY
TAKING CRASH COURSES IN SWAHILI AND ARABIC.

WHICH BRINGS ME TO THE THEME OF MY ADDRESS. THE QUESTION
I WOULD LIKE TO PUT TO YOU AS AMERICANS IS THIS: "IS IT
REALY TRUE THAT SOUTH-EAST ASIA IS NO LONGER AS RELEVANT
AS IT ONCE WAS TO THE UNITED STATES?"

AS A SOUTH-EAST ASIAN MY ANSWER CANNOT, OBVIOUSLY, BE
IMPARTIAL BUT IT CAN BE OBJECTIVE AND THIS IS WHAT I SHALL
TRY TO BE IN THE FEW MINUTES AVAILABLE TO ME.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA WOULD ADMITTEDLY BE IRRELEVANT TO THE
UNITED STATES IF IT HAS IN FACT OPTED OUT OF THE COMPETI-
TION OF BEING A LEADING WORLD POWER. IN THE HIERARCHY OF
POWERS THERE ARE TODAY ONLY TWO AT THE TOP - THE SOVIET
UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. AS FAR AS I KNOW THERE HAS
BEEN NO SERIOUS DISCUSSION AS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF THE
SOVIET UNION OPTING OUT OF THE COMPETITION. CERTAINLY NOT
IN AFRICA OR THE MIDDLE EAST. MOST DECIDEDLY NOT IN
SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND EAST ASIA.

IN MY PART OF THE WORLD THE SOVIET UNION WAS, EVEN AS LATE
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AS TEN YEARS AGO, NO MORE THAN THE LEGENDARY LAND OF
PRESTER JOHN. TODAY ITS PRESENCE IS HIGHLY VISIBLE AND WE
HAVE ACCEPTED IT AS A PERMANENT FEATURE OF OUR ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE. WE ARE NOT UNDULY DISTURBED BY
A RUSSIAN PRESENCE PROVIDED IT IS BALANCED BY AN EQUALLY
VISIBLE AMERICAN PRESENCE.

NOW THIS PROPOSITION MIGHT SOUND VERY MUCH LIKE AN ATTEMPT
BY WEAK SOUTH EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES TO SAFEGUARD THEIR PETTY
INTERESTS BY PLAYING OFF ONE BIG POWER AGAINST ANOTHER.
IF IT WERE ONLY THAT THEN, IF I WERE AN AMERICAN, I WOULD
KEEP AWAY FROM SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND LET THE RUSSIANS AND THE
CHINESE FIGHT FOR THE SPOILS.

BUT MY PROPOSITION IS OF A DIFFERENT ORDER. WE IN SOUTH-
EAST ASIA - AND MORE PRECISELY IN THE ASEAN GROUP OF
COUNTRIES - HAVE LEARNT FROM BITTER EXPERIENCE THAT PLAYING
OFF ONE BIG POWER AGAINST ANOTHER IS, IN THE LONG RUN, A
PRETTY DANGEROUS AND FUTILE GAME FOR SMALL NATIONS. THE
BIG POWERS HAVE THE RESOURCES AND SKILL TO PLAY THIS
DEADLY GAME MORE SUCCESSFULLY AND WHICHEVER OF THE BIG
POWERS WIN THE SMALLER NATIONS INVARIABLY LOSE THE GAME.

IN SUGGESTING A BALANCE OF POWER WHAT I HAVE IN MIND IS
NOT CONFRONTATION AND MUTUAL DESTRUCTION OF THE GREAT
POWERS IN THE REGION BUT CONSTRUCTIVE, PEACEFUL COMPETITION
BETWEEN THEM. I HARK BACK TO A CHALLENGE FLUNG AT THE

UNITED STATES TO ENTER INTO PEACEFUL COMPETITION WITH THE

SOVIET UNION TO DEMONSTRATE WHICH OF THE TWO SOCIAL SYSTEMS
COULD PROVIDE EFFECTIVE ANSWERS TO MANKIND'S NEEDS AND
PROBLEMS.

WHATEVER ONE MIGHT THINK OF MR. KHRUSCHEV IN OTHER MATTERS
HIS INVITATION TO REDIRECT GREAT POWER RIVALRY FROM THE
OLD METHODS OF NAKED WARFARE TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
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COMPETITION IS AN EMINENTLY RATIONAL APPROACH TO POWER
POLITICS. GIVEN THE NUCLEAR AGE INTO WHICH WE HAVE ENTERED
GREAT POWER RIVALRY BY MEANS OTHER THAN PEACEFUL COMPETI-
TION MUST INEVITABLE BE CATASTROPHIC FOR EVERYBODY - BIG
AND SMALL NATIONS, FOR VICTORS AND VANQUISHED ALIKE.

AND IN MY VIEW, THE SOVIET UNION IS TODAY APPLYING THE
TECHNIQUES OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION WITH GREAT SKILL AND
DEDICATION. THE TERM DOES NOT MEAN THE ABSENCE OF
VIOLENCE. IT CERTAINLY INCLUDES WHAT HAS BEEN TERMED
"PROXY WARS" AND SUPPORT FOR INSURRECTIONARY VIOLENCE IN
TARGET COUNTRIES. IT ALSO INCLUDES THE USE OF VERY
COMPLICATED SUBVERSIONARY TECHNIQUES. BUT IS IS NEVERTHE-
LESS "PEACEFUL" IN THAT DIRECT MILITARY CONFRONTATION
BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS, INVARIABLY NUCLEAR POWERS, IS
DELIBERATELY AVOIDED. IF THE SOVIET UNION IS TODAY
CONDUCTING ITS PEACEFUL COMPETITION EFFECTIVELY AND WITH
A DISCIPLINED SINGLE-MINDEDNESS OF PURPOSE, THE ADEQUATE
AND RATIONAL RESPONSE ON THE PART OF THOSE OF US WHO DO
NOT BELIEVE IN THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM SHOULD BE NOT STERILE
COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE IMMORALITY OF SOVIET AMBITIONS TO BE
THE DOMINANT WORLD POWER BUT TO MATCH THEIR DISCIPLINE
AND SINGLE MINDEDNESS ON BEHALF OF THE COMMUNIST WAY OF
LIFE. THE SOVIETS HAVE AS MUCH RIGHT TO ASSERT THE
SUPERIORITY OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEM AND SPREAD ITS
INFLUENCE AS IT IS FOR US TO DEMONSTRATE THAT OUR'S IS
THE BETTER AND SECURE IT.

IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT I WOULD LIKE AMERICANS
TO CONSIDER THE RELEVANCE OR OTHERWISE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA
IN-SO-FAR AS IT CONCERNS THEIR AMBITION OF REMAINING A
LEADING WORLD POWER. IN STATING THE PROBLEM THIS WAY I
AM NOT TAKING A PRO-AMERICAN POSTURE OR AN ANTI-SOVIET
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STANCE. THAT KIND OF APPROACH HAS ALREADY BEEN TRIED IN
SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND BOTH AMERICAN AND THE COUNTRIES OF
SOUTH-EAST ASIA SUFFERED GREATLY AS A CONSEQUENCE.
THE ASEAN COUNTRIES WOULD BE VERY LOATH INDEED TO RETURN

TO THAT PRESCRIPTION.

WE SEEK AN AMERICAN PRESENCE NOT AS A WAY OF EXCLUDING A SOVIET OR ANY OTHER PRESENCE. WE WELCOME A COMPARABLE

AMERICAN PRESENCE BECAUSE THE ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE BY AND LARGE LIKE THE AMERICANS ON THE NON-COMMUNIST SIDE OF THE FENCE. THE ASEAN COUNTRIES MAY NOT SEE EYE TO EYE WITH THE AMERICANS ON MANY THINGS. BUT THEN NOR DO THOSE WHO PROFESS COMMUNISM. NEVERTHELESS WHATEVER DISAGREEMENTS THERE MAY BE BETWEEN ASEAN COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT WE ARE ON THE SAME SIDE OF THE FENCE.

AND IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA TODAY THERE IS SUCH A FENCE. IT IS CLEARER NOW THAN IT WAS DURING THE DAYS OF WAS IN INDO-CHINA. THREE OF THE SOUTH-EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES PROFESS ONE OR ANOTHER VARIETY OF COMMUNIST. THEY MAY NOT AGREE ON WHO IS TRULY COMMUNIST BUT THEY ARE AGREED THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST PATH THAT ASEAN HAS CHOSEN IS NOT A CHOICE THEY APPROVE OF.

AND THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, FOR THEIR PART, ARE EQUALLY DETERMINED TO PROVE THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST APPROACH TO BASIC PROBLEMS CAN PROVIDE REASONABLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THEIR PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS. AS FAR AS THE ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE CONCERNED THEY HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST URGE TO PERSUADE THE INDO-CHINESE COUNTRIES TO RETREAT FROM THEIR CHOSEN PATH. ALL THAT WE IN ASEAN WANT TO DO IS TO PROVE THAT WE HAVE CHOSEN THE RIGHT PATH FOR OURSELVES.

PERHAPS A PEACEFUL COMPETITION BETWEEN TWO KINDS OF SOCIAL UNCLASSIFIED

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SYSTEMS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA COULD BE OF GREAT CONSEQUENCE FOR ASIA AND FOR THE THIRD WORLD GENERALLY - AND IN MY VIEW FOR AMERICAN TOO. BOTH SYSTEMS EMBRACE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND ALL BUT ONE OF THE SOUTH-EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES WERE COMPONENTS OF VANISHED EMPIRES. WHICH SYSTEM WORKS BETTER WOULD CLEARLY BE OF INTEREST TO OTHER THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. AFTER 30 YEARS OF DECOLONISATION A NEW GENERATION IS EMERGING IN THE THIRD WORLD MOST OF THEM IN THEIR TWENTIES AND THIRTIES WHO ARE MORE INTERESTED IN THE FRUITS OF INDEPENDENCE THAN IN RHETORIC ABOUT THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE IT. THEY ARE YOUNG ENOUGH NOT TO WANT TO LOOK FORWARD TO DECADES OF GROWING MISERY AND POVERTY. THEY WOULD MOST CERTAINLY BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHICH IS THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM THAT WORKS BEST.

THE UNITED STATES SACRIFICED MUCH MEN AND MATERIAL IN INDO-CHINA IN AN EFFORT TO CONVINCE ITS PEOPLE THAT NON-COMMUNISM WAS THE BETTER WAY - AND FAILED. THERE ARE

AS MANY OPINIONS AS THERE ARE ANALYSTS AS TO WHY THAT ENTERPRISE FAILED.

NOW THERE IS A SECOND OPPORTUNITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA FOR THE UNITED STATES AS THE LEADING NON-COMMUNIST POWER TO PROVE WHAT IT FAILED TO DO THE FIRST TIME IN INDO-CHINA - THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST WAY CAN PROVIDE EFFECTIVE ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. THIS TIME THE VENTURE WILL NOT REQUIRE THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS OR CRIPPLING EXPENDITURE.

ALL THAT IS REQUIRED IS THE WILL AND THE IMAGINATION AND A FRACTION OF THE MONEY EXPENDED IN INDO-CHINA TO HELP THE ASEAN COUNTRIES PROVE THAT THE NON-COMMUNIST SYSTEM CAN WORK.

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BUT MORE PERTINENT TO THE AMERICANS IS THAT IN HELPING ASEAN TO HELP ITSELF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE STRENGTHENING SIGNIFICANTLY ITS COMPETITIVE POSITION AS A WORLD POWER.

IN ASSOCIATING YOURSELF WITH ASEAN YOU, THE AMERICANS, WOULD NOT BE TAKING ON A LIABILITY. I HOPE YOU WILL BEAR WITH ME IF I BURDEN YOU WITH SOME STATISTICAL DATA ABOUT ASEAN TO DEMONSTRATE THE VALIDITY OF MY STATEMENT.

FIRST, ASEAN HAS A LAND AREA TWICE THAT OF THE EEC AND IT CONSTITUTES THE GREATER PORTION OF THE LAND MASS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA. ITS POPULATION OF OVER 240 MILLION IS MORE THAN FOUR TIMES THAT OF THE INDO-CHINA STATES, LARGER THAN THAT OF THE EEC AND MORE THAN THAT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN TERMS OF NATURAL RESOURCES IT IS MORE THAN AMPLY ENDOWED AND IS AN IMPORTANT PRODUCER OF RAW MATERIALS CRUCIAL TO INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES -- RUBBER, TIN, PALM OIL AND PETROLEUM AMONG OTHER THINGS. IT IS NOT CRIPPLED BY THE KIND OF INTENSE POPULATION PRESSURE AND THE HOPELESS POVERTY WHICH UNFORTUNATELY CHARACTERISE MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

FOR THE PAST DECADE OR SO THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, DESPITE OCCASIONAL SETBACKS, HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCING DYNAMIC GROWTH. THEIR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, IN THE PAST DECADE, HAS BEEN WELL ABOVE AVERAGE FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THIS IS EVIDENCED BY THEIR HIGH GROWTH RATES, STABLE CURRENCIES AND HEALTHY FOREIGN RESERVES.

ACCORDING TO ONE ESTIMATE, THOUGH ASEAN ACCOUNTS FOR ONLY TEN PERCENT OF ASIA'S POPULATION (EXCLUDING CHINA) ITS GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT HAS, ON AVERAGE, BEEN ONE-FOURTH OF ASIA'S AND HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR 2/5 OF ASIA'S

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TOTAL TRADE.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF ASEAN GIVES IT AN ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF GLOBAL IMPORTANCE. ASEAN JOINS AND DIVIDES AT THE SAME TIME TWO GREAT OCEANS ALONG WHOSE FRINGES RESIDES THE GREATER PROPORTION OF MANKIND -- THE INDIAN AND THE PACIFIC OCEANS. SKIRTING THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE INDIA, WEST ASIA AND THE LONG COAST OF EAST AFRICA.

ON THE PACIFIC SIDE ARE THE INDO-CHINESE STATES, CHINA, JAPAN AND SOVIET ASIA -- ALL OF WHICH OVERLOOK THE AMERICAS ON THE OTHER SIDE. THE ASEAN STATES EXTEND INTO BOTH OCEANS.

TO THE SOUTH ARE AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND A STRING OF PACIFIC ISLANDS.

ACCESS TO AND EXIT FROM THESE TWO OCEANS ARE THROUGH SEAS ADJOINING THE ASEAN STATES. AIR COMMUNICATIONS TO AND FROM THESE OCEANS CRISS-CROSS THROUGH THE ASEAN REGION.

PERHAPS THE MOST NOTEWORTHY FEATURE ABOUT ASEAN IS THE FACT OF ASEAN ITSELF. AT A TIME WHEN NEWLY ESTABLISHED AND EVEN WELL-ESTABLISHED NATION STATES ARE IN DANGER OF BEING FRAGMENTED BY TRIBAL, LINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS XENOPHOBIA THE ASEAN STATES ARE MEETING AND RE-DIRECTING THEIR NATIONAL SENTIMENTS IN THE DIRECTION OF CO-OPERATIVE REGIONALISM. TRUE THERE IS CONFLICT OF INTERESTS BETWEEN ASEAN STATES BUT THESE HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO DISRUPT UNDERLYING REGIONAL COHESION AND SOLIDARITY. THEY MAY HELP TO EXPLAIN WHY, WITH THE ENDING OF THE VIETNAM WAR, THE PREDICTED FALL OF ASEAN DOMINOS DID NOT MATERIALIZE.

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IT MAY ALSO EXPLAIN WHY, AFTER ELEVEN YEARS OF EXISTENCE, ASEAN, WHICH MANY BELIEVED WOULD GO THE SAD WAY OF OTHER REGIONAL EXPERIMENTS, HAS ATTAINED CREDIBILITY. PROOF OF THIS IS THAT IT IS TODAY BEING INCREASINGLY SUPPORTED BY EVEN COUNTRIES WHICH INITIALLY DENOUNCED IT. THE CHINESE THE VIETNAMESE AND EVEN THE SOVIET UNION PROFESS VARYING DEGREES OF ENTHUSIASM FOR ASEAN.

THE COMMUNISTS, WHATEVER THEIR SHORTCOMINGS, ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO WHAT THEY CALL "EMERGING FORCES" AND IF ONE CANNOT STIFLE AN EMERGING FORCE THEN ONE SHOULD, COMMUNISTS BELIEVE COME TO TERMS WITH IT -- EITHER TO WORK WITH IT OR WORK FROM WITHIN IT.

THE COUNTRIES OF ASEAN, FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SOME AMERI-

CANS, MAY HAVE SHORTCOMINGS. BUT AWARENESS OF OUR SHORTCOMINGS SHOULD NOT BLIND SUCH AMERICANS TO THE FACT THAT ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE MOVING FROM AN IMPERFECT TOWARDS A LESS IMPERFECT SOCIAL ORDER. I HOPE THAT THEY WILL EVEN AS THEY CRITICISE US REMEMBER THAT IN THE BIG THINGS WE ARE ON THE SAME SIDE AS THE AMERICANS AND THAT IN STRENGTHENING ASEAN THE AMERICANS WOULD BE STRENGTHENING THEMSELVES.

BECAUSE ASEAN IS ON YOUR SIDE, BECAUSE AT THE MOMENT IT IS DOING BETTER THAN THE OTHER SIDE IN THIS GAME OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND COMPETITION, I PUT IT TO YOU, NOW IS THE TIME TO HELP ASEAN HELP ITSELF -- NOT WHEN IT IS DOING BADLY, WHEN IT HAS LOST THE LEAD IT NOW HAS AND WHEN 240 MILLION PEOPLE BEGIN TO WONDER WHETHER AFTER ALL THE PASTURE MAY NOT BE GREENER ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE FENCE.

END TEXT. VANCE

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